(From the Russian Foreign Policy Archive, Ф.06, Оп.6, П. 42, Д.550, Л.6-15.

Record of Stalin's conversation with the Polish government-in-exile delegation headed by Prime Minister S. Mikolajczyk on the German question, the establishment of the Provisional Government, the state of the AK, the borders of Poland. Moscow, 3 August 1944).

Recording of Stalin's conversation with a delegation of the government
of the Polish government in exile, headed by Prime Minister
S.Mikolajczyk on the German question, the establishment of the
Provisional Government, the state of the AK, the borders of Poland

г. Moscow August 3, 1944.

SECRET .

Present: from the Polish side - Grabsky, Romer, Mniszek,
from the Soviet side - Comrade V.M. Molotov, interpreter
V.N.Pavlov.

Mikolajczyk declares that he is pleased to have been received by Marshal
Stalin at a time when heroic Soviet armies are defeating
Hitler's troops and liberated Poland.

Tov. Stalin remarks that the international situation
that the Soviet Government considers it its duty to help
the liberation of Poland.

Mikolajczyk declares that had it not been for the Soviet Union.
Poland would have been under German oppression for a long time.

Comrade Stalin declares that the Red Army and the Soviet Union have been in a difficult situation for a long time. Stalin declares that the Red Army is indeed speeding up
the liberation of Poland.

Mikolajczyk says that he came almost on the anniversary of the Soviet-Polish
-Polish treaty, which was concluded by Sikorski on 30
July 1941, which had not been terminated. He, Mikolajczyk,
would like to say that Marshal Stalin, who is now liberating
Poland, could with a magnanimous gesture towards
Poland to win the hearts of the Polish people. He, Mikolajczyk, will not
will not conceal from Marshal Stalin that the Poles, always trusting
Marshal Stalin, at the same time they feel a sense of fear
of what is about to happen. He, Mikolajczyk, wants to introduce himself
to Marshal Stalin not as a diplomat, but as a man
from the peasantry, who himself has attained the position he now occupies.
he now occupies. He, Mikolajczyk, has no particular ambition,
except the desire to serve his country. In his time as
President of the Union of Peasant Youth, he participated in the Slavic
congresses attended by Poles, Bulgarians and Czechoslovaks
and at which the question of how the Slavic
peoples should protect themselves from German expansion. He, Mikolajczyk,
as a resident of the western regions of Poland, is well aware
the Germans, their evil intentions, their desire to destroy the Slavic
peoples. He, Mikolajczyk, has come here to discuss with Marshal
Stalin. He, Mikolajczyk, would like to discuss
the question of joint actions against the Germans now and in
so that the Germans will never be able to start

a new war.

The second question he, Mikolajczyk, would like to discuss with
Marshal Stalin, is not so topical, it is the question of the treaty
on the administration in Poland3.

Thirdly, he, Mikolajczyk, would like to hear from Marshal Stalin
Stalin how he views the matter of the Soviet-Polish frontier. Finally,
he, Mikolajczyk, would like to inform Marshal Stalin
that on August 1, the Polish underground army began an open fight
against the Germans in Warsaw and that he, Mikolajczyk, would like to
as soon as possible to go to Warsaw and set up a government there, which
based on the four parties represented in the present
Polish government in London, and the Polish Workers' Party.
party, i.e., the Communists. He, Mikolajczyk, thinks that after
after Poland's liberation, elections will be held in the country on a democratic basis.
a new constitution will be adopted, a president will be elected.
a new constitution will be adopted, a president of the republic will be elected and the new borders of Poland will be approved.
Marshal Stalin.
As for current affairs, he would like to
to ask Marshal Stalin for instructions
that the Soviet troops provide assistance to the internal Polish
army so that it can continue its fight against
Germans.

Tov. Stalin replies that all the questions posed by Mikolajczyk
are of great political and practical importance. But
In his questions Mikolajczyk skirts the existence of the Polish
National Liberation Committee, with which the Soviet
Government has concluded a treaty of administration. Can .
can this fact be ignored?

Mikolajczyk replies that there is probably a misunderstanding.
Speaking of the second question, he, Mikolajczyk, was referring to the treaty
between the Polish government and the Soviet government.
But this question is irrelevant, because the treaty of administration
has already been concluded between the Polish National Liberation Committee
and the Soviet Government. He, Mikolajczyk,
would like to say that when the Soviet troops enter Warsaw.
the deputy prime minister of the Polish government
and the commandant of the underground army, who are in charge of
administration in Poland. He, Mikolajczyk, is confident that
that no harm will come to these persons by the Soviets. It would be
It would be good if the four Polish parties could still
have influence and work in the restoration of the Polish administration.

Comrade. Stalin declares that in order to avoid misunderstanding he must
declare that the Soviet Government has no intention
to determine how many parties will participate in the Polish
government. This is not the business of the Soviet Government. Of course it is,
The Soviet Government would like to see democratic parties represented in the Polish Government.
democratic parties to be represented. But that is a question
must be decided by the Poles themselves. The Soviet Government will not
interfere in this matter. If one wonders about the opinion of the Soviet
of the Soviet Government, he, comrade Stalin, can say that it would be
if all the democratic parties in Poland formed a

a bloc. The Soviet Government would support this bloc.

Mikolajczyk says that four parties are represented in the Polish government.
four parties. All these parties are democratic. In 1939,
while the members of these parties were in France, the Sejm was
was dissolved and it was decided that the President of the Republic should
sign a declaration that he was giving up his rights. He,
Mikolajczyk, wished that in the government to be established
in Warsaw, these four parties will participate.

Tov. Stalin says it's necessary to agree on what will be
to talk about. If Mikolajczyk wants to talk about the force which has been born
in Poland in the form of the Polish National Liberation Committee,
then we need to discuss the relationship between the Polish
between the Polish government in London and the PCNL.
Mikolajczyk declares that he is ready to discuss all questions.

Comrade. Stalin states that Churchill wrote to him that Mikolajczyk
wants to come to Moscow, and asks if he, Comrade Stalin.
Stalin to accept Mikolajczyk. At this Churchill stated that he
that the main purpose of Mikolajczyk's trip was to unite
of the Poles, and expressed the hope that he, Comrade Stalin.
the Poles in this cause. He, Comrade Stalin, agreed to do so. According to
he thought it could be a question of a relationship between the two
between the two forces involved in Poland. This question is difficult
to circumvent.

Mikolajczyk replies that he does not want to circumvent this issue. He
wants to be in Warsaw.

Comrade. Stalin replies that the Germans have Warsaw.

Mikolajczyk says he thinks Warsaw will soon be
liberated, and he will be able to establish there a new government based
all the forces of Poland.

Comrade. Stalin remarks: "God willing, it will be so."

He, Comrade Stalin, must warn you that the Soviet Government
does not recognize the Polish government in London.
that it has broken off relations with it. At the same time, the Soviet Government
has de facto relations and a treaty with the PKNO.
These facts must be reckoned with.

Mikolajczyk asks whether he should understand this to mean
that the Polish government in London has closed all avenues
to Poland.

Comrade. Stalin replies that this is to be understood in the sense that
that before negotiating with Mikolajczyk as head of the
Polish government, it would be a good idea to put an end to the existence of
two governments - one in London and the other in
Helm. He, Comrade Stalin, agrees that it would be good to unite
forces and create a provisional government. This should be
to be handled by the Poles themselves.

Mikolajczyk declares that he is not so far removed in his views
from Marshal Stalin, but he makes a proposal for cooperation
of the four parties with their friends in the PCNP, since the PCNP represents

only part of the Polish people. Marshal Stalin is well aware
that Witoey cannot represent the Polish peasant
Party, as he had ceased to be a member as early as 1929.

Comrade. Stalin says that Mikolajczyk's criterion for determining
of the popularity of a political figure is wrong. Poland has been
for five years under the heel of the German occupiers. During
of the war and occupation, new people have grown in Poland. References to
to the old authorities are irrelevant. Poland has grown in four years.
New authorities must be reckoned with. He, comrade Stalin,
could give as an example the Red Army, where new people have grown up.
new men, where the old authorities have been relegated to the background. If
before the outbreak of the Soviet-German war, someone had approached us
with the statement that in three years' time Russia would have generals like Rokossovsky,
like Rokossovsky, Chernyakhovsky, Konev, Eremenko, Bagramyan.
Comrade. Stalin remarks that this is a formal, not always correct
point of view.

Mikolajczyk declares that he could give Comrade Stalin the names
of a number of young men taking an active part in
Polish government. He, Mikolajczyk, recently met in
Cairo with a young Pole from Poland. B
Polish government, the Department of Education is run by
a young man. Many women are in charge of serving
Polish troops, producing literature, etc. These young
Poles have created an underground army in Poland.

Comrade. Stalin says that the Red Army has discovered that the units
of this Polish underground army are very weak. It is reported that
the Polish underground army has no artillery, no aviation,
or tanks. It does not fight the Germans. Units of this army
are hiding in the woods. When one asks the representatives of these units
why they don't fight against the Germans, they say
That it is not so easy, because if they kill one German, then
Germans kill ten Poles for it. Among the leaders of these
among the leaders of these units there are quite a few unwise people. The other day in Holm.
one of these chiefs announced the mobilization of Polish men...
...of Polish men between the ages of 16 and 65. This is a very dangerous
thing. The population was outraged by the announced mobilisation, because
as they believed that the Germans had been driven out and that the war was over. The indignation
was so great that the announcement of the mobilisation came
in the midst of the summer harvest work.

I had to stop
this boss and prevented the mobilisation. There are also
such chiefs who announce to the Polish population that
the German occupiers have gone, the Russians have come. Others are spreading
literature hostile to the Soviet Union, which
he, Comrade Stalin, can present to Mikolajczyk, if he so wishes.
if he so desires. What is the Soviet authorities to do with such people?

Mikolajczyk answers that indeed the Krajowa Army has no
tanks. The Krajowa Army has been fighting through acts of sabotage. Recently
on the orders of the London government, quite a few factories were blown up near Lvov.
quite a few factories and several railway
derailments. All units of the Polish Provincial Army in the area of Vilna,

Novogrudok and Volhynia fought the Germans all the time, despite the
breakdown of relations between the Polish and Soviet governments.
It is difficult for him, Mikolajczyk, to list all the acts of sabotage, but all
are registered with Allied headquarters in London. These facts
show that the Polish People's Army wants to fight
the Germans.
Comrade. Stalin remarks that he believes that the Polish People's Army
wants to fight the Germans. But how can it do so,
without weapons?

Mikolajczyk declares that the Polish People's Army consists of
units of 20 men scattered all over Poland. As the front approaches.
the front, these units join together to strike at the Germans.

Comrade Stalin says that our troops encountered two divisions of this army
two divisions of that army, but when our troops approached them,
it turned out that they could not fight the Germans because they had no
armaments.

Mikolajczyk says that he agrees that these units have no
weapons for modern warfare. But in Lubelsk
there are three divisions. In the underground, the men of these divisions were
making
machine guns themselves.

Comrade. Stalin says that the units of the Polish underground army
don't fight against the Germans, because their tactic is to take care
and then show up when the British
or the Russians.

Mikolajczyk declares that before the fall of France, the Provincial Army
had openly spoken out, but after the fall of France the Home Army
began to engage in subversive activities according to a plan drawn up
by Allied Headquarters in London. These sabotage activities are causing
great harm to the Germans. From what Stalin said about the Krajowa Army's lack of
he, Mikolajczyk, can only conclude
he can only conclude that the Krajowa Army must be given arms.

Comrade Stalin declares that the Soviet Union is a country at war. Stalin declares
that the Soviet Union is a country at war
with Germany on Polish territory. The Red Army is interested
in the existence of a calm rear. If there will be
two Polish governments and two systems, it could do
great harm to the cause of the Red Army's struggle against the Germans. If the
Polish
the Polish government in London has the intention and thinks it advisable
to come to an agreement with the PKN and create one Polish government,
the Soviet Government is ready to assist in this. If .
the Polish Government considers this undesirable, the Soviet
Government will be compelled to co-operate with the PKNO. This is the
the position of the Soviet Government, which he, Comrade Stalin, asks
consideration.

Mikolajczyk replies that the Polish government is prepared
to come to terms with the PKN and with those who have been fighting in
Poland during the five years of the occupation.

Mikolajczyk asks how Comrade Stalin imagines
of the borders of Poland.

Tov. Stalin replies that the Soviet Government believes
that the eastern border of Poland should follow the Kerzon line,
the western along the Oder River, leaving the city of Stettin with the Poles,
and the Königsberg area with the city of Königsberg to the Russians.

Mikolajczyk says that therefore Lvov and Vilna remain
as part of the Soviet Union.
Comrade Stalin declares that according to Leninist ideology, all
are equal. He, Comrade Stalin, does not want to offend the Lithuanians,
nor the Ukrainians, nor the Poles.

Mikolajczyk declares that the loss of Lvov and Vilna would be an offence
to the Polish people. The Polish people will not understand this, as
As they believe that Poland must not suffer damage, if only because
because there was not a single quisling in Poland.

Comrade. Stalin remarks that this will not be a detriment to Poland.
If one speaks of damage, he will be able to report that a large
group of Russian nationalists is accusing the Soviet government
that the Soviet government has ruined Russia because
Russia does not include Poland, which used to be part of it. If
listen to all sorts of accusations, you can get completely confused.
The Kerzon line was not invented by the Poles or the Russians. It came about
as a result of an arbitral award made by the Allies
in Paris. The Russians were not involved in the development of the Curzon line.
He, Comrade Stalin, must say that there are few
Russians who would consent to Bialystok being ceded to
to Poland, as is the case with the Kerzon line.

Mikolajczyk declares that he is sure that if Comrade Stalin makes
a magnanimous gesture, he will gain the gratitude of the Polish
of the Polish people and will find an ally in him.

Comrade Stalin declares that Lvov is surrounded by the Polish people. Stalin
declares that Lvov is surrounded by Ukrainian villages.
The Soviet Government cannot offend the Ukrainians. We must
consider that there are many Ukrainians in the Red Army and that all of them
are not bad at fighting the Germans. The Ukrainians will not tolerate
Soviet Government to give up Lvov.

Grabski, who enters the conversation, declares that he has been at the head of the
anti-German Russian army since 1906.
was at the head of the anti-German and Russophile movement in
Poland. For this he was often called a Moskal. He, Grabski, believes
...that the friendship of the Polish and Russian peoples is the most important
thing...
for the struggle of the Slavs against German expansion. The Polish people
will be very grateful to Marshal Stalin
of Poland will move farther to the west. But he, Grabski, would ask
to consider the following. No Allied country will emerge from
of this war reduced in its territory. The Poles are well aware
how important it is for Poland not to have Ukrainian and
Belarusian issues. On the other hand, he, Grabski, would ask
that if the Polish state emerges from the war
diminished, the Polish people would feel offended.
Marshal Stalin spoke of a strong and independent Poland.
But if he had added to this statement that Poland would not come out
out of this war reduced, then the Russian people and the Soviet
Union would be assured of the co-operation of the Polish people.

Comrade. Stalin says that if one approaches the problem of Slavicism
from a historical point of view, it can be seen that as a result
of the First World War, Poland was resurrected and restored.
He, Comrade Stalin, thinks that as a result of the present war
the Ukrainian and Belarussian peoples in particular will be resurrected, and it would be
it would be unfair to offend them.

Grabski declares that the Byelorussian and Ukrainian peoples will not
would not be offended if the disputed territories were divided in proportion to
of the population of the Polish, Belarusian and Ukrainian nationalities
and if the resettlement is then carried out.

Comrade Stalin declares that the Poles will receive Breslau instead of Lvov
. They will have enough ore and coal in Silesia.

Grabski says that with the loss of Lvov, there will be no
oil.

Tov. Stalin replies that on the opposite slope of the Carpathians
there is a lot of oil. These fields need to be explored by the Poles.
In addition, the Poles will have chemical plants in Silesia
to produce synthetic fuel.

Grabski says that Poles have a lot of historical historical and other traditions
connected with the city of Lviv..

Comrade Stalin asks what about the Ukrainians.

Grabsky replies that the Ukrainians have Kiev.

Comrade. Stalin notes that the Poles have Krakow and Warsaw.

Comrade. Stalin states that the first time the Poles and Russians marched
together at Grunwald, when they defeated the Germans. Then the Poles
had quarrels with the Russians. In the 17th century, under Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich,
...there was a foreign minister, Ordin-Nashchekin...
...who proposed an alliance with the Poles. For this he was chased out.
Now a turnaround is needed. The war has taught our peoples much.

Grabski agrees.

Comrade Stalin declares that if Mikolajczyk has no questions.
the conversation can end at 12 o'clock.

Mikolajczyk replies that he has no more questions. He
only wants to ask how Mr. Stalin intends to finally
the question of the Soviet-Polish border.

Tov. Stalin replies that he thinks that this question will have to be
will have to be resolved when there is a unified Polish government.
In order to do so, Mikolajczyk will have to talk to the representatives of the
Polish National Liberation Committee.

Mikolajczyk replies that he is ready to do so.

Tov. Stalin replies that a meeting between Mikolajczyk and representatives
with representatives of the Polish National Liberation Committee.
Comrade. Molotov. It is probable that this meeting can take place in the next

one or two days in Moscow or Kiev, depending on where
it will be convenient for Mikolajczyk.

Tov. Stalin asks Mikolajczyk how he and
the persons accompanying him.

Mikolajczyk thanks Stalin for his hospitality.

The conversation lasted 2 hours and 30 minutes.

№ 11

Запись беседы И.В.Сталина с членами польской правительственной делегации во главе с С.Миколайчиком о возвращении премьер-министра в страну, помощи восставшей Варшаве, послевоенной политике по отношению к Германии[1]

г. Москва — *9 августа 1944 г.*
21 час 30 мин.

СЕКРЕТНО

Присутствуют: с польской стороны — Грабский, Ромер, Мнишек, с советской стороны — тов. В.М.Молотов, переводчик В.Н.Павлов.

Миколайчик заявляет, что он считает для себя большой честью, что Маршал Сталин, несмотря на свою занятость, сумел принять его, Миколайчика, перед отъездом. Вчера В.М.Молотов принял его, Миколайчика, по вопросу переговоров представителей польского эмигрантского правительства с представителями Польского Комитета Национального Освобождения. Он, Миколайчик, хотел бы скорее попасть в Лондон, чтобы доложить своим коллегам об этих переговорах, так как он не имеет полномочий довести до конца эти переговоры. Он, Миколайчик, уверен, что лондонское польское правительство будет сотрудничать с Комитетом, ибо у польского правительства имеется стремление сделать это.

Тов. Сталин замечает, что это было бы очень хорошо.

Миколайчик говорит, что, как он понимает, Маршал Сталин хотел бы, чтобы польское правительство было демократичным.

Тов. Сталин заявляет, что это правильно.

Миколайчик говорит, что Маршал Сталин сказал, что Польша полевела. Но, как он, Миколайчик, понимает, это не означает, что Польша должна быть коммунистической. Он понимает эти слова в том смысле, что все демократические партии в Польше должны протянуть друг другу руку.

Тов. Сталин говорит, что именно так он это и понимает.

Миколайчик заявляет, что из конституции[2] польское правительство выбросило все антидемократические параграфы.

Тов. Сталин спрашивает, можно ли из конституции выбрасывать параграфы. Конституцию можно принять или отклонить.

Миколайчик заявляет, что он не намерен сохранять конституцию 1935 года. Он будет искать путей перехода на базу конституции 1921 года. Он, Миколайчик, хочет подчеркнуть, что если бы он имел президента на основе конституции 1921 года, то у него не было бы трудностей. Но он, Миколайчик, не может сейчас выбросить президента, так как если бы он это сделал, то он лишился бы суверенного органа, который сейчас существует, опираясь на конституцию 1935 года. По мнению Берута, этот суверенный орган существует в виде Краевой Рады Народовой[3]. Он, Миколайчик, думает, что самый простой выход из положения был бы найден, если бы партии, представленные в Краевой Раде Народовой, сошлись бы с другими демократическими партиями и образовали бы суверенный орган.

Тов. Сталин замечает, что временное правительство может существовать без президента. Президент может быть избран позже, после всеобщих выборов.

Миколайчик заявляет, что он хотел бы просить Маршала Сталина оказать помощь полякам, борющимся в Варшаве.

Тов. Сталин спрашивает, о какой помощи идет речь.

Миколайчик отвечает, что речь идет о помощи оружием[4]. Дело в том, что немцы сейчас не так сильны, чтобы выбросить поляков из тех районов Варшавы, которые они занимают. Поляки нуждаются в оружии для того, чтобы продержаться.

Тов. Сталин заявляет, что все это начинание с восстанием польской подпольной армии в Варшаве он считает нереальным делом[5], так как у восставших нет оружия, в то время как немцы только в районе Праги имеют три танковых дивизии, не считая пехоты. Немцы просто перебьют всех поляков. Просто жалко этих поляков.

Советские войска форсировали Вислу в районе ее слияния с рекой Пилицей и установили на другом берегу Вислы плацдарм 30 километров длиной и 25 километров глубиной. Вначале дела шли хорошо, но немцы перебросили в район нашего плацдарма две танковых дивизии. Советские войска, конечно, преодолеют сопротивление немцев и возьмут Варшаву, но это потребует времени.

Тов. Сталин говорит, что нам не жалко оружия. Мы можем предоставить полякам оружие, — как пулеметы, так и противотанковую артиллерию, но встает вопрос, как это сделать. Тяжелые орудия нельзя сбросить с самолетов. Кроме того, нет уверенности в том, что это оружие не попадет в руки немцев, если оно будет сбрасываться над районом города. Тов. Сталин спрашивает, имеются ли в городе места, где можно сбросить оружие.

Миколайчик заявляет, что такие места имеются, но он сейчас затрудняется их назвать. В штабе командующего польскими войсками в Варшаве имеется советский капитан Калугин[6]. Он хотел бы связаться с Маршалом Рокоссовским для того, чтобы дать ему необходимые сведения. Он, Миколайчик, знает лишь, что имеется

место, где оружие, если оно будет сброшено, не может попасть в руки немцев.

Тов. Сталин спрашивает, можно ли этому верить.

Миколайчик отвечает, что этому вполне можно верить.

Миколайчик заявляет, что речь идет о сбрасывании польским войскам в Варшаве ручных гранат, противотанковой артиллерии и боеприпасов.

Тов. Сталин говорит, что сбросить оружие легко, так как наши войска находятся близко от Варшавы.

Миколайчик заявляет, что он был бы очень благодарен, если бы Маршал Сталин дал приказ Рокоссовскому это сделать.

Тов. Сталин говорит, что нужно иметь позывные сигналы и шифры. Он, тов. Сталин, постарается сделать все возможное. Лучше было бы, если бы сбросить в расположение польских войск советского офицера для связи[7].

Миколайчик заявляет, что он предоставит в кратчайшее время все необходимые для этого данные.

Тов. Сталин заявляет, что он сделает все возможное.

Миколайчик говорит, что, прощаясь с Маршалом Сталиным, он хотел бы выразить уверенность в том, что между Польшей и Советским Союзом будут установлены доверие и дружба.

Тов. Сталин заявляет, что основой нашей политики является союз с Польшей. Необходимо, чтобы поляки поверили, что руководители нынешней России не те, что были при царском правительстве. Руководители тогдашней России хотели покорить Польшу. Наших политиков часто смешивают с царскими политиками. Это неправильно. У нас нет политики покорения каких-либо славянских народов. В этом смысле мы против славянофильства, которое предполагает, что Россия должна быть во главе славянских народов и что эти славянские народы должны быть угнетаемы Россией. Мы признаем равенство прав славянских народов. Если польские руководители поймут, что советские руководители хотят установить дружбу между польским и советским народами и повернуть в этом смысле историю, то это будет хорошо. Но он, тов. Сталин, думает, что нынешние польские деятели не верят этому, так как представители польского правительства, находящиеся в Польше, заявляют польскому населению, что немцы-угнетатели уходят, а приходят новые угнетатели — русские.

Миколайчик заявляет, что Маршал Сталин имеет возможность завоевать сердца польского народа.

Тов. Сталин говорит, что польский народ не должен идти за Советским Союзом. Он должен идти вместе с Советским Союзом. У польского народа свой путь, и у Советского Союза тоже свой путь. СССР не хочет, чтобы им руководила Польша. Польша не должна этого делать. Нужно, чтобы СССР и Польша шли вместе против общего врага — немцев, оказывая друг другу политическую, военную и экономическую помощь. Если у Польши будет существовать союз с Советским Союзом, то никакие опасности не

будут страшны. Польша должна иметь также союз с Англией, Францией и США.

Миколайчик благодарит тов. Сталина за эти слова в отношении Польши. Он заявляет, что у Польши нет намерения навязывать что-либо Советскому Союзу.

Тов. Сталин отвечает, что мы не можем и не должны навязывать что-либо друг другу.

Тов. Сталин говорит, что Советское Правительство, стремясь к союзу с Польшей, исходит из того, что, как бы ни ограничивали Германию, она все равно регенерируется и встанет на ноги. Германии после франко-прусской войны в 1870 году потребовалось 40 с небольшим лет, чтобы в 1914 году совершить новое нападение. В 1939 году Германия снова совершила нападение, причем промежуток времени, который ей понадобился для того, чтобы подготовиться к этому, сократился до 25 лет. Мы считаем, что Германия снова может регенерироваться после нынешней войны в течение 20—25 лет.

Миколайчик заявляет, что он хорошо знает немцев. Нужно, во-первых, сильнее бомбить немецкие города, заводы и нужно, чтобы Германия была разбита на германской земле. После окончания войны нужно прервать все экономические пути, по которым идет германская экспансия в европейские страны. Надо оккупировать Германию на длительный срок.

Тов. Сталин замечает, что все-таки Германия может подняться. На этот случай нужно держать наготове меч, и этим мечом должен быть союз между Польшей и СССР и войска в распоряжении той международной организации по поддержанию мира, которая будет создана.

Миколайчик говорит, что перед отъездом из Лондона он читал показания пленных немцев. Один немецкий офицер заявил в своих показаниях, что Германия найдет себе спасение в коммунистическом строе.

Тов. Сталин замечает, что Германии коммунизм подходит так же, как корове седло.

Прощаясь, **Миколайчик** благодарит тов. Сталина за гостеприимство и заявляет, что он считает для себя большой честью, что он был принят тов. Сталиным.

Записал (В.Павлов)

АП РФ. Ф. 45. Оп. 1. Д. 358. Л. 12—16. Копия. Опубл. в: Военно-исторический журнал. 1993. № 3. С. 22—24.